22: Wiedfeldt--48-49 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 64, 182, 614, 631 Atayal

The natural reason for the existence side by side of two superior social institutions, i. e., the clan and the tribe, is space, together with the functions which naturally are incumbent upon them. The tribe occupies 8 to 10 times as much territory as the clan. It would not be feasible to eliminate one of the two organizations, and to give the remaining one all of its functions. The territory occupied by the tribe would be too large to enable the tribe to handle the economic functions of the clan, and to act as owner of all the land. Also, the solidarity of the members of the clan would be impaired by being spread out over too large an area. Reversing the situation, the territory of the clan would be too small to enable the clan to render military and political service. Even the territory covered by the tribe has now proved to be too small for this purpose. The carrying out of their legal customs and their legal procedure would in both cases meet difficulties which could only be overcome by far-reaching changes in the entire social structure. In the organization of society for political functions, the simultaneous existence of two institutions, one of which is subordinate to the other, one of which is regional and the other local, is a logical and necessary thing, which can not be avoided without impairing or even crippling the entire organism. A social organism springs up, however, as soon as we have several people living together. Not only do [49] controversies arise, which must be settled, but there are matters which demand community cooperation and a superior order.

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 ADl Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan



*tswvulavay, lusaliay, suli'i, laluriay.* 643

d) *sasaolay* (servants of the *avusamay* household)·····
·····two households of commoner, they are not hereditary.

**B. Religious chiefs:**

a) *para'are a malava* (a priest of the five-years-feast)·····
·····*atsinajay* (Paiwan)
*para'are a pusav* (priest of the six-years-feast and priest of agricultural rituals)·····*tsivulway giligilao* (Chimo)
*para'are na ara* (priest of head-hunting ceremony)·····
·····*tsipulayay* (Chimo)

b) *paraiyay* (priest of the hunting grounds, one for each ground)·····determined by divination

c) *puliyao* (priestess)·····two Paiwan, two Chimo.

**C. Military chiefs:**

*rara'atsay* (chivalry chief)·····*tsavalit*

*rara'atsay tsalala* (lesser chivelry chiefs)·····number of person are not fixed, promoted by military achievements.

**D. Tribal councils:**

a) *malaval a malwtsivtsik*—Members of *malaval a malwtsivtsik*, the administrative council or aristocratic council consist of all aristocratic household-heads. *utsiputsipoy*, vassals of the chiefs may attain the council but they have no voice in the council. The administative council is headed by the big chief *ruvaniau.* 623

b) *malaval tsalala'alay*—The villagers' meeting consists of all household-heads of the village. It is also assembled by the big chief *ruvaniau.*

c) *malaval ta palisilisiay*—Ritual day assembly it is assembled by the big chief *ruvaniau*, but *para'are*, the priest is the chief speaker.

d) *malaval na rara'atsay* or chavalry meeting—The meeting is held everynight. In occasions of head-hunting expedition or war, it is assembled and headed by *rara'atsay.*

## FEUDALISM AND TRIBUTARY SYSTEM

**A. Feudalism**

The feudalism of Chala'abus village which resembles that of the ancient Chinese system is called *moli-umax.* The representative of a feudal lord is called *pinairaratsa.* The big chief *ruvaniau* had nine (possibly more than nine) *atunayay* or dominions in other villages. They are shown as follows: 631 621

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *atunayay* village | | *pinairaratsa* household | |
| *pailus* | „ | *tsamatsiay* | „ |
| *vunalit* | „ | *talwunay* | „ |
| *butsunok* | „ | *tsododo* | „ |
| *tswutsa'atay* | „ | *tsulimodo* | „ |

48: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan



| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *pulti* | „ | *talialuɬ* | „ |
| *aviayay* | „ | *tsiyulol* | „ |
| *tsaovarul* | „ | *ɾuvaniau* | „ |
| *ɾalide* | „ | ? | |
| *atsaˀatsaray* | „ | ? | |

**B. Tax and labour**

All dwelling lands (*inaray*), hunting grounds (*aliupay*), fishing grounds (*pana*), cultivating lands (*atunayay*) and things above the land were owned by aristocratic households. A commoner in order to have some lands to till, some grounds for hunting and fishing, and stones and fuel to be collected in the valleys or on the mountains, must submit himself to some aristocratic household as a serf (*umutal*), and is obliged to pay taxes to render feudal labours to his feudal lord. Taxes are of the following kinds:

a) *wadis na satsɔmul*—tax for hunting animal
b) *wadis na pana*—tax for fishing
c) *wadis na atsay*—tax for domesticating animal
d) *itsivoy*—wine tax
e) *iluplup*—tax for collecting fuel
f) *paˀa*—tax for trading
g) *paˀa lura ta putsel*—tax for marriage

Feudal labours of a serf to his feudal lord are of the following kinds:

a) Land tillage (*pataˀalay*): Each aristocratic household has preserved a portion of tilling land for its own. This portion of land is called *vavutəloy*. The *vavutəloy* of the *ɾuvaniau* household was tilled by all commoners of the village. Other *vavutəloy* were respectively tilled by serfs of those households. All products of these *vavutəloy* belong to the aristocratic households. This land-tillage system has been employed in Chala'abus village to substitute the land-tax.

b) House-building and house repairing (*jirayuts*): The commoners have the obligation to build or repair houses for chiefs. All commoners are obliged to render this kind of service to the *ɾuvaniau* and *sadilapay* households.

c) Miscellaneous duties (*painuma a tsɔvatsɔvuy*): Commoners must render services to chiefs' households in their marriage, funeral or other occasions of the same kind.

d) Travelling service (*putsatsalay*): A chief may require certain commoner to accompany him when travelling.

**C. Tributary and audience**

The representative of the big chief in other villages must pay visits and tributes to his overlord the *ɾuvaniau* household after the harvests of millet and taro. Tributes presented by a *pinairaratse* to his overlord include 20 bundles of millet ears, a bottle of wine, a pig, 10 bunches of betel nut, a bag of groundnuts. In time of the five-years-feast, the chiefs of Chala'abus will be invited to visit villages where they have their representatives. At the death of the *pinairaratsɔ*, the overlord must condole the family of the dead and at the same time appoints the *uum* or heir of the family to succeed

636.10 --------636.88

15: U. S. Navy--31 [4] (no date) 1944 Formosan Aborigines
116, 511, 342, 361, 177.16 Japanese
636.16

"The aborigines along the southeast coast (the Paiwan and Ami tribes) live in fairly well constructed wooden or stone houses, set among meager patches and fields. They live on a primitive agricultural level, supplementing their livelihood by occasional hunting and fishing. The aborigines living farther back in the mountains or along the northeastern coast live in extreme poverty, hunting and fishing and scratching the earth in small patches near their hovels, which may be thatched huts having a single opening, or bamboo and cane cabins perched on stilts. Gradually the Japanese are forcing them to leave their solitary clearings and to gather in villages on level areas where they can learn to subsist on an agricultural economy of the poorest sort."

4:Grajdanzev--37 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 721, 177.17 Japan
636.17

"But arms were necessary for the aborigines, not only to fight the Japanese, but also to hunt for food. The Japanese authorities may have been sincere in their desire 'to civilize' the savages, but civilization as they understood it meant the turning of hunters into cultivators of rice fields. From the warrior and hunter they were taking away his lands and his gun and were granting him a hen for egg production. Savage 'superstitions' were 'eradicated', but the savages were expected to believe in the Japanese goddess, Amaterasu Omikami, with her million deities and the Son of Heaven. The natural consequence of this 'civilizing' was war. This war with the savages cost 7,083 lives and more than 4,100 wounded. For the time being their resistance may be considered to have been overcome, but this has been due to overwhelming force, and not to the beneficent influence of rice fields and shinto shrines."

19: Guérin and Bernard--564-565 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 175, 177.17 China
636.17

If the Dutch had succeeded in establishing their dominion, it would have been an excellent thing for the Formosan tribes. Under the rule of these prudent and clever masters, the tribes would have been taught a relative kind of civilization; in any case, [565] they would have learned how to live and to prolong their race. But the Chinese invasion took all their possessions without teaching them anything in return, it has been pitiless from necessity for the island was small, and the invaders were both numerous and hungry. During Koxinka's time there was a general retreat of the poor tribes, and then since then events have proceeded at the slow tempo which still characterizes them today. The new-comers see that the valleys and the plain are occupied, and so they move toward the mountains and infringe upon the territory belonging to the tribes; they want to get land which may be transformed into rice fields, to seize a water-course that is essential for irrigation, to cultivate indigo, tobacco, and especially sweet potatoes on the slopes, and then they are anxious to exploit the forests, especially those containing camphor trees.

In the north the advance has been very slow; it may be that the aborigines have defended their land foot by foot, or it is possible that the Chinese have found a permanent source of wealth in the lands that they have annexed, and so they have not been spurred on to new conquests. In the south, on the other hand, there were some enormous

19: Guérin and Bernard--564-565 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines-2
116, 175, 177.17 China
636.17

deforestation projects at the start. This resulted in some vast empty regions which extend from the last Chinese farms to the frontiers of the aborigines. The tribes may have vegetated more safely on this account, but they have suffered from the difficulty of bartering their products, and this is caused by the absence of roads and the difficulty in navigating the rivers. This deforestation would have been more difficult if several tribes had not joined the conqueror, so there was no resistance whatsoever.

19: Guérin and Bernard--565-566 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177.17 China
636.17

The Chinese pioneer tries to obtain what he wants by buying it, and his favorite tactics are persuasion; but if he encounters an obstinate refusal, he will try other means, at his own risk of course. Thus wood choppers scatter [566] through the forests singly, or in small groups, and they are an easy prey to marauders. Sometimes the villages or wealthy proprietors do business with a part of the tribe, which comes to the neighborhood to protect the workers. These good services are rewarded by a subsidy (rice, wine, poultry, young pigs etc.) Finally, if the savages refuse to make any concessions, the Chinese proceed in a large group, and half of them keep armed guard over the safety of the workmen. In this way there is no danger, and if the Chinese adopted this procedure all the time, the tribes would be condemned to retreat a little more each day; but the Chinese only do this on rare occasions, and they do not like to use this method.

4:Grajdanzev--170 [2] S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-1-2
116, 204, 563, 656, 177.20 Japan
636.20

"Now let us turn to another important sphere of cultural activities—newspapers. In Taiwan no newspaper can be published without the permission of the government-general, and the government-general has established a 'custom' of permitting only one newspaper to a city, so that up to 1932 there were only four newspapers in Taiwan, all in the Japanese language, though they sometimes carried a column in Chinese (1). Five

1. In 1937 a fifth one was permitted for Takao.

million Chinese in Taiwan had no newspaper of their own. In 1932 permission was granted to a Chinese weekly to appear as a daily, so that for the first time since the Japanese conquest the Chinese could read their own newspaper—Taiwan Shin-minpao. However, this experiment was short-lived. In 1937 it was decided that the people now know the Japanese language so well that no obstacles should exist to the japanization of the islanders. On March 1, 1937, all Japanese newspapers and the Chinese one carried a notice to the effect that after April 1 (for the Chinese newspaper, after June 1,) they were to cease publication of columns in Chinese (2).

2. Information on the newspapers is taken from Nippon shimbun nenkan, 1939, pp. 143-145. It is confirmed also by Sekai nenkan, 1929.

4:Grajdanzev--170 [21 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-2
116. 204. 563. 656. 177.20 Japan
636.20

Thus after 1937 five and one half million Chinese could not read a newspaper in their own language, though most of them do not know Japanese."

15: U.S. Navy--22 [3]
116, 208, 609, 873, 177.20
636.20

(no date) 1944

Formosans
Japanese

"The general population knows little of the outside world. The United Nations have individually and consistently been placed in an unfavorable light by the Japanese press, radio and educational policies. However, the Formosans who have reached the Middle and Higher Schools and those who have studied in Japan Proper, where they have had access to more evidence of American standards of living and national character, uniformly seem to admire the United States and what they understand of its liberal policies. The record of America's administration in the Philippines has made a considerable impression on educated Formosans. A few Formosans have received their higher education in America colleges and universities. For some years now they have been subject to strict surveillance."

21: Asai--7 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 231, 241, 243, 177.24 Japan
636.24

"Agriculture. Grow chiefly sweet potatoes, millet, peanuts. The fields are on the slopes of hills. They keep pigs—used originally for sacrifice. They grew dry field rice, but the Japanese started them growing wet rice. This was bad for their health as malaria would start up."

22: Wiedfeldt--10[3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 264, 576, 177.26 Japanese
636.26

The Atayals have two meals a day, which serve to set a beginning and an end to their day. One is in the early morning, after they get up, and the second is in the evening, before they go to bed. Men, women, and children eat together. A guest eats with his host, while the women and children eat afterward. The hollow of the hand serves as their cup, and as knife, fork, and spoon they use the five-pronged fork with which they were born. In the Japanese school which has recently been organized the young Schimptonoff are receiving their first instructions in the use of table implements and drinking vessels.

22: Wiedfeldt--38-39 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 439, 177.43 Japanese
636.43

What the Japanese really need is the valuable camphor trees which grow in Atayal territory. This important commodity is not bartered, however, and the Japanese control only the camphor trees inside the Aiyu line, pushing this line ahead as they feel the need. The tribes in the interior naturally do not share in this insignificant trade in trifles which has slowly developed in the border territories. Barter between tribes is just as impossible as barter between members of tribes, for all the Atayals produce the same things, and therefore have nothing to offer each other.[39] The Atayals and the Amis, who bound them on the south, hate each other mutually, and have nothing but hostile dealings with each other. Since the Japanese forbade the importation of guns and salt, a contraband barter in these two articles, which can hardly be dispensed with for purposes of defence and maintenance, is said to have developed in place of the former free gift of these things to the tribes of the interior, but no one knew anything about it, or if they did, they were unwilling to say anything about it.

4:Grajdanzev--35-36 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116. 563. 657. 727. 177.56 Japan
636.56

"After their occupation of the island the Japanese took over the Chinese 'reservation' system for the aborigines and the territory inhabited by the 'uncivilized' tribes was surrounded by military outposts, (1) which kept constant watch over the [36] natives.

1. The fact that these outposts were manned by Japanese policemen and not by soldiers makes little difference, because at their stage of cultural development the aborigines could hardly appreciate the difference.

The latter understood only that the Chinese system would continue a system of incessant warfare in which finally they were the losers and their best lands were taken away."

4:Grajdanzev--36 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 166, 563, 657, 728, 177.56 Japan
636.56

"It is difficult to say whether they understood, at the beginning, even the change of the sovereignty. In any case the war continued. During the first years of occupation the Japanese, preoccupied with the suppression of Chinese rebellions, tried only to keep them within the reservation, but later a complete program of subjugation was worked out. Its essential feature was the removal of aborigines to low lands in order that the mountainous areas which they had occupied might be exploited. These areas were rich (or at least were thought to be) in timber, minerals and agricultural potentialities, for a certain part of the area could be sown with tropical plants."

39: Wiedfeldt--12-13 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 625, 723, 177.62 Atayal
636.62 Japanese

They succeeded over and over again in taking Japanese troups by surprise through their stratagems in battle, so that the Japanese army, which is admitted to be good, [13] proved to be of little use in these battles, and has been replaced by numerous policemen, who live there for long periods and are not so easily outwitted.

6: Kirchhoff--30-31 U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosans
116, 161, 177.63 China
636.63

The whole of Formosa, belongs only to the Chinese "sphere of interest," together with the islands off its coast. In reality only the western side is ruled by the Chinese, the north and, recently, a narrow strip of land along the eastern coast. Within this ruled region the Chinese Government is said to have carried out a census of the inhabitants, but [31] to have treated the results as an official secret. The assertion, made for a long time past, that Formosa has 3 million inhabitants, has thus practically no basis whatever. If this estimate were correct, it would enable one to conclude that the density of population attained the not inconsiderable figure of 90.

6: Kirchhoff--37-38 U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosans-1-3
116, 177.63 China
636.63

The slow advancement made in the more careful treatment of Formosa by the Chinese Government is reflected in the divisions into administrative districts that grow smaller in extent. At first some importance was attached to the southwest alone, and it was superficially divided into the three districts (Hsiën) of Tai-uan (now Tai-nan) in the middle, Tschu-lo in the north and Fung-schan in the south. Subordinated were the Fisher Islands and the remote Tam-sui as ting, i. e., "sea district" or, probably more correctly, "district of inferior rank." The warning rebellion of 1722 brought about the splitting of the excessively large northern district into a northern half, administered from Tschang-hua, and a southern half administered from Tschu-lo. This latter administrative center received, as a result of the self-sacrificing defense offered the rebels in 1788, the honorable name of Kia-y, i. e., "praiseworthy love of the fatherland." Until 1875 this organization of the four Hsiën (each under a Tsche-hsiën, a district president) was allowed to go on pretty much unaltered, except that [38] a few Ting were added, these being Komalan, later called Y-lan, and even the region round Tam-sui.

Then the fear of a Japanese invasion induced important reforms. Two centers of administration were now set up, a northern one in the newly created town of Tai-pe-fu, which in accordance with the Chinese custom bears the name of the district it administers*

*Tai-pe-fu is a shortened form of Tai-uan-pe-fu, i. e., the northern prefecture of Tai-uan (or Formosa).

and a southern one in Tai-uan-fu, which now received the corresponding name of Tai-nan-fu (southern prefecture). Each of these prefectures was governed by a higher official with the title of Tsche-fu (chief president). Subject to the president of North Formosa were the following districts, each administered by a Tsche-hsiën:

1) Tam-sui,
2) Sin-tschu (formerly Ting Teuk-tscham),
3) Y-lan (formerly Ting Komalan),
4) Tai-uan (i. e., Tai-nan),
5) Fung-schan,
6) Heng-tschun,
7) Pi-lam.

Similarly the districts of the same level subject to the chief president of South Formosa were:

1) Tschang-hua,
2) Kia-y.

The south of the former district of Fung-schan (from the stream entering the sea at Pang-leao down) had also received its own Hsiën administration, and was provided with the capital of Heng-tschun, founded for this purpose, and the same was done with the

greater part of the east coast, where the former village of Pi-lam became the administrative capital of an extensive district reaching from the north to the border of Komalan. Only the Schiffer Inseln (Pung-hu) remained a Ting.

The highest administrative chief of the island was appointed as the superior of the two chief presidents or prefects of North and South Formosa, with the title of tao-taï, and his official seat was at Tai-uan-fu (now Tai-nan). Every year he had to traverse the island once, and he was the highest court of appeal in all administrative and legal matters, being immediately subject to the Governor of Fo-kiën, who had to undertake a journey of inspection in Formosa every third year. But as a consequence of the Franco-Chinese conflict, the importance of Formosa as the "eye of the Southern Sea" increased in the eyes of the Peking cabinet to such an extent that, in accord with an Imperial Decree of October, 1885, the Provincial Governor of Fo-kiën was compelled henceforth to set up his residence on Formosa itself, so that he should govern the island directly. At his side a brigadier-general commanded the Formosan garrison, which was armed in European fashion and, even in peace, numbered 10,000 or 12,000 men.

6: Kirchhoff--38 U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosans-1-2
116, 631, 177.63 China
636.63

The administration of Formosa has become even more specialized and made even more independent in the last years. According to Hosie's report, the island has now been raised to the rank of an independent Chinese province under a governor directly responsible to the central government of the Empire. At the present he resides in Tai-pe-fu. At the same time the division of Formosa into three prefectures was ordered, each of them embracing a number of sub-prefectures (hsiën, ting, tschu). They consist of the following:

I. Northern prefecture (Tai-pe-fu).
   1) Hsiën Tem-sui,
   2) " Sin-tschu (or Hsin-tschu),
   3) " Y-lan (or I-lan),
   4) Ting Ki-lung.

II. Middle prefecture (Tai-uan-fu).
   1) Hsiën Tai-uan, *

* This district must consequently have its center of administration in a town called Tai-uan; we thought we should indicate this to be to the east of Tschang-hua, where Hosie's map shows a town called Tai-nan (obviously an error in lettering).

2) Hsiën Tschang-hua,
3) " Jün-lin,
4) " Miao-li,
5) Ting Pu-li.

III: Southern prefecture (Tai-nan-fu).
1) Hsiën An-ping,
2) " Fung-schan (Feng-schan, as the English call it),
3) " Kia-y (or Kia-i),
4) " Heng-tschun,
5) Tschu Tai-tung (formerly the district of Pi-lam).

22: Wiedfeldt--27 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 643, 177.64 Japanese
636.64

The tribe has the same organs as the clan. The designation applied to the chief, maraho, or moruhuk, means venerable old man, also leader of the army. The Japanese Governor-General is called by the Atayals the maraho of the Japanese. The chief is by no means the richest member of the tribe, and he lives in a hut just like the other members of the tribe. His title is hereditary, as it is in the clan, but a tribal chief is never also a clan chief. This office is said to have been held by the family of the present chief of the Schimptonoff [MC: an Atayal tribe] from the beginning of the tribe. At any rate, their position has not been disputed. Partly from lack of knowledge and partly for political reasons, the Japanese have often appointed Atayals who were friendly to them as chiefs, but their appointees have never been able to obtain any influence or to be successful.

22: Wiedfeldt--43 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116; 177.64 Japanese
636.64

The agreements between the tribes and the Japanese officials are in the nature of international law, and have been forced upon the Atayals in the last decade and a half.

6: Kirchhoff--37 [5] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosans
116, 177.65 China
636.65

Originally the colonizing zeal of the Hakkas and the people of Fokien had quite independently won the soil of the island step by step. Then the rule of the Imperial Government was proclaimed after the collapse of the Koschinga dynasty on Formosa, but until more recent times the central government paid no attention to the "island of the eastern barbarians." The extension of the area cultivated by the Chinese on Formosa remained the private affair of the settlers; the officials sent to the island felt as if they had been banished and used the years of their exile to enrich themselves.

11: Haguenauer--30-31 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 871, 887, 177.65 Japanese
636.65

In spite of what other people may have said, the Japanese are treating the savages in a very kind fashion today. The civilizing work is proceeding methodically and patiently. Most of the savages who are over fifteen have not as yet understood the usefulness of the teaching, however, and only the little ones are beginning to become Japanese. The elders get bored, live an idle existence, and die of illness or alcohol. Their only delight is to borrow a gun from the police station occasionally, and to shoot three or four bullets at the wild boars or the deer. The bow and arrow are enough to kill birds. However, there are fortunately some exceptions, and the teachers have obtained some very brilliant results. I talked Japanese to some savages who had become thoroughly Japanese; they had diplomas from a normal school, and were working as assistants to directors of the posts or teachers. I repeat that the [31] Japanese are treating the natives in a very humanitarian manner. And this should be more successful than in other places, for here in these poor regions there is nothing to attract the large commercial companies, which are all too often the curse of colonies. The gentleness of the system may succeed in saving a part of the native population, possibly the Amis. The savages who will not be able to adapt themselves will probably disappear in the near future.

39: Wiedfeldt--16 [2] F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 153, 811, 177.65 Atayal
636.65 Japanese

The capacity of the Atayals to grasp something that has been told them is also limited. If one attempts to tell them something through the medium of an interpreter, one runs up against a complete lack of comprehension, even if it is only a question of their forming a new concept out of elements already known to them. They do not even have an idea of the power of the Japanese, of which they should have been clearly conscious in view of the bloody battles that they have had with them. In order to make them aware of this, and to scare them off from making further attacks, the Japanese have very cleverly taken a number of highly respected Atayals to Tokyo every year at the expense of the state, so that they could get an idea there by what they themselves could see of the power and the resources of Japan, and could then tell the members of their tribe. The sum total of all this is that the Atayals do not completely lack imagination...but it has been employed only in a few fields, and has not been very productive even in these...

25: Plaut--32 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosans
116, 206, 496, 654, 177.65 China
636.65

Liu-Ming-Chuan [EJ: the Chinese Viceroy appointed in 1884] was eager to make Formosa more progressive. So he built a railroad from Kelung to the capital T'ai-pei-fu, and from there on to Hsin-chu; he connected the capital T'ai-pei to T'ai-nan and the Pescadores with a telegraph line, and then he made Formosa a part of the world telegraph system by constructing a cable to Futchou. He also established a well-regulated postal system. Industry, including sugar, also received his support. Although Liu-Ming-Chuang's administration was very beneficial for Formosa, he aroused much dissatisfaction by raising the taxes and levying an inland duty, for the previous revenues were not sufficient to defray the costs of his innovations.

25: Plaut--32-33 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines-1-3
116, 647, 654, 721, 177.65 China
636.65

We should give particular attention to the viceroy's [EJ: i.e., the Chinese Viceroy Liu-Ming-Chuan, appointed in 1884] efforts to enclose the natives' territory. During the course of time the natives who lived in the western plain, the P'ing-pu-fan, Formosan Pe-po-huan "plain savages" and the Shou-fan, Formosan Sek-huan "ripe savages" or half-tamed ones, had been conquered or else they had retired into the inaccessible mountains of the eastern portion of the island, where the Sheng-fan, Formosan Tseng-huan, the most uncivilized tribes have lived in a state of complete independence for a long time. There was a continual battle between the settlers and the mountain savages; the settlers were eager to push their boundaries farther into the native domain, while the natives used every opportunity to attack isolated settlers or unprotected villages, and in this way they got their revenge and secured some more Chinese heads. Prior to the time of Liu-Ming-Chuan, the Governors had not followed any definite plan with regard to the savages, and in general they allowed the settlers to defend themselves as well as they could; the viceroy undertook to find a means of overcoming this handicap and he resolved to civilize the natives. For this purpose he established the "Training and Development Bureau", Fu-k'en-chu, (Japanese Bu-kon-kyoku). He had set himself the enormous task of educating the savages and of making the land arable.

To fulfill this plan, he established three principal bureaus in Ta-ku-kuan, Tung-shi-chiao and Pei-nan [33] and then had twelve branch offices, one in each of the Hsien

cities, I-lan, Yün-lin, Pu-li-she and Lien-hua-chiang, while the twelve others were in Su-ao, A-li, San-chiao-yung, Wu-chi-shan, Shuang-hsi, T'ien-wei, Hsien-ts'ai-weng, Ta-hu, Fang-liao, Nan-hu, Shui-chang-jung, and Hsiu-ku-luan. To attract settlers from the mainland, he set up settler recruiting bureaus in Amoi, Swatow and Hongkong.

The personnel of the bureaus consisted of 1 commisioner, 3 clerks, 5 policemen, 2 interpreters, 1 cook and 1 native maid. Then there was also 1 doctor and 1 barber. All of these employees were well paid: the commissioner, who was the superintendent of the branch office, received 30-80 taels a month, each clerk had 14-25, a policeman had 6-7, the first interpreter 20, the second 14-15, the maid 7, the cook 4-5 taels, and they all received free board. The interpreters had the hardest task, for they had to work with the savages and make them in favor of the Government's projects. The yearly expenditures of a branch office averaged about 6000 taels, and then in addition to that there was the food and equipment for the protecting troops. All of these expenses were defrayed by the revenue from the camphor monopoly.

As the savages are on a low cultural plane, it was necessary to be sparing with proofs of their good intentions, for it would have been an easy matter to have spoiled them. Accordingly interpreters went to them with gifts, and tried to persuade them to surrender; then at the same time the natives saw the protecting troops at frequent intervals, so any idea of insubordination was nipped in the bud. Those who showed their readiness

to collaborate were given rice, grain, meat, salt and vegetables; every month the barber paid them a visit, and at the end of the year they received clothing, oxen, and sows. Many of the natives entered the Chinese service as fire watchers and interpreters, in return for a monthly compensation, and then fathers sent their children to the school which was established for them in front of the south gate of T'ai-pei; there they received instruction in the dialect of the natives as well as in Classical Chinese.

As the viceroy realized that one of the chief means of civilizing wild peoples is to bring them into contact with educated people, he had the troops build an 80 kilometer road from Chang-hua diagonally across the mountain to Shui-wei on the east coast; the result was that many of the inhabitants of the interior and the eastern part of the island surrendered, they adopted the Manchu queue, and began to till the soil.

25: Plaut--33-34 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 436, 609, 656, 177.65 China
636.65

The stations of the Training and Development Bureau [EJ: established by the Chinese in 1884 to facilitate the acculturation of the Formosan natives] did not have a conspicuous success. Part of the blame may be laid on the changeable and distrusting nature of the savages, but the greed of the Chinese settlers and officials was the principal cause of the failure. For example, the natives were accustomed to bring their products into the settlements and to exchange them for wares which they [34] used for farming or for decoration. But the Chinese, who were only thinking about the momentary profit and not about the consequences, also sold them weapons. Finally the Government forbade any unrestricted trade with the savages, and it set up a market in each bureau, and said that it was the only place where barter should be permitted. However, the officials, who were entrusted to superintend this, were not reliable. They used their position for personal profit, and they permitted the natives to be cheated. It is not surprising, therefore, that this aroused the old ire among the savages, and that they used every opportunity to gain revenge by beheading some of the Chinese.

25: Plaut--34 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 654, 177.65 China
636.65

To be just to Liu-Ming-Chuan's attempts, we must remember that his civilizing activities only lasted for six years, [EJ: Liu-Ming-Chuan was Chinese Viceroy of Formosa from 1884 to 1891] and that is much too short a space of time to remedy some deep-rooted evils. It is true that he made the mistake of going too rapidly, and of trying to do too many things at once. Finally he was no longer able to pay the expenses for his undertakings, in spite of the increased taxes, and in 1891 he resigned his post. His successor was more economical, but he did not have time to accomplish very much, for the days of Chinese rule on Formosa were already numbered.

4:Grajdanzev--36-37 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 175, 721, 177.72 Japan
636.72

"The process of subjugation proved difficult because the terrain was mountainous and covered with tropical jungles. Many times the regular army detachments were sent into the territory of the savages and returned without achieving anything; they lost men in ambushes and from illness, and in some cases the imperial troops were actually defeated by the savages, who knew the terrain perfectly. It became clear to the authorities that the aborigines could not be conquered by a frontal assault, and so they began a constant siege. No weapon was left unused in the struggle. Barbed wire for hundreds of miles surrounded the savages and, in the regions of the most 'difficult' aborigines, electric current was used to make the barbed wire fatal. But the savages soon discovered ways of overcoming this difficulty. After the World War bombing from airplanes was used against them, but without apparent success. Their arms were confiscated, but by paying exorbitant prices they managed to buy new ones from Chinese smugglers. Hatred between tribes was exploited and Japanese policemen would return in company with triumphant tribesmen who were carrying the heads of defeated enemies. Nevertheless, this policy failed, (1) and the reason for its failure was simple; the [37] Japanese could not or

1. Owen Rutter, a British colonial administrator, who is opposed to the 'pampering of the native' and who is a partisan of 'justice and firmness' in dealings with

> the [371 natives. writes: 'I say that the Japanese have failed utterly, in their endeavors to solve the important question of bringing the natives under their influence.' Through Formosa, p. 233.

would not understand savages who were unwilling to give up their lands. Governor-General Sakuma, for example. starting his campaign in 1909 to make the savages a 'law-abiding people'—though they were quite law-abiding from their own point of view—compelled them to surrender their arms and had those who refused 'chastised'."

4: Grajdanzev--37-38 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 659, 728, 177.72 Japan
636.72

"Twenty thousand men with primitive tribal organization and primitive weapons could not resist indefinitely the machinery of a modern state with all its attributes. But the submission was unwilling and as late as October 1930, aborigines, several thousand strong, burnt the police stations in the district of Musha, seized arms, and occupied the town. In order to suppress this rebellion the Japanese were compelled to use a considerable military force. (1) The suppression cost the Japanese

1. 'October 1930' is given by the Japan Year Book, 1939-40; in the 1933 edition it is said that the revolt took place 'in the summer of 1929.' Which is the truth we do not know, for the affair was not made public until long after it took place. Since 1929 a sum of ¥ 60,000 has been spent annually on special guards in Musha district.

160 lives and the incident shows that if the aborigines [38] should see a favorable opportunity, further trouble may follow. Now a force of 5,000 guards 90,000 aborigines, of which probably not more than 20,000 are mature men, disarmed and separated into their various tribal units by government lines."

6: Kirchhoff--31 [4] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosan Aborigines
116, 609, 721, 177.72 China
636.72

At times the Chinese do not fear, even today, to use open force, if it is a matter of forcing the Pepo-huan off better soil. This was done with the natives inhabiting the north of the island, who are called Kabaran. They finally withdrew to the other side of the mountains, to the fruitful plain of Komalan (more popularly, Kapsulan), which stretches out on the eastern coast of North Formosa as far as Su-aô; there 4,000 of them are said to live in flourishing settlements and to extend even farther south along the coast as far as Hua-lien. Unfortunately they are constantly at odds with each other, so that there can be no question of a united opposition against the Chinese. Nor can they take flight into the neighboring mountains on the west; for there they would be met by the free Tsche-huan, who hate them as renegades.

6: Kirchhoff--31 [5] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 563, 177.72 China
636.72

The geographical distribution of Chinese, Pepo-huan and Tsche-huan is not so simple as often described: in the plain, the hilly country and the mountains, respectively. The only thing right about this is the fact that the free savages live alone in the mountains, protected by the forests. The Chinese push on step by step even into the mountains of the interior and fell the forests.

22: Wiedfeldt--30-31 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 721, 609, 177.72 Japanese
636.72

. . . In the Atayal concept, the members of the tribe are the only ones who should be protected. They are permitted to hunt only savages of other tribes, Japanese, and Chinese, and quite understandably, Europeans, but the number of these is very small. The first group retaliates by conducting their own skull hunts, or by special punitive and plundering forays. The second group is protected by a strong military and police force, which punish such excesses as severely as possible. The third group is victimized comparatively more often but even in this case the Japanese occasionally take harsh measures against a tribe that has a particularly large amount of skull hunting chalked up against it, and force it to withdraw behind the Aiyu line. Inasmuch as unrestrained head hunting on the part of the members of the tribe has seriously endangered the tribe formerly and now in particular, when this practice endangers its independence and its very existence, head hunting is only permitted in the border tribes and supposedly in most of the tribes of the interior when it is ordered by the tribal chief. In many of the tribes of the interior the clan chief also has this privilege. In many tribes, it takes place only in the fall, after the tribal assembly, so that apparently all legal contests are postponed until that time. Everywhere a young man who wants to acquire the skull which will show that he has come of age must control himself until a skull hunt has been declared open for his clan. This regulation does not make the skull hunt any the less dangerous for strangers who approach the territory of the tribe, for they never know whether or not a skull hunt

has been ordered for precisely that time. At any rate, the time before the millet harvest is the safest, and the time after it is the most dangerous. This unpleasant custom is the only thing that gives the slightest justification to the application of the otherwise unjustified designation of savages to the Atayals. It makes no difference whether a skull is that of a man, woman, or child, provided only that the child is over two years old, for the skulls are not captured in battle, but are taken by tricking and surprising the victim. [31] According to the statistics, which are surely incomplete, about 300 Chinese and 40 Japanese are killed annually in the skull hunts. Some 300 Chinese and 20 Japanese are wounded. There is no clue to the number of savages who are captured, but it must be almost as large as the number of Chinese, in the border districts alone. In spite of all the punitive expeditions and all the efforts on the part of the Japanese border patrol, almost no progress has been made in suppressing this unpleasant custom up to now, because it is closely connected with the legal aspect of the life of the Atayals. The most success seems to have been obtained in cases where the Atayals have been told: "Skulls are skulls. Hunt monkey skulls, or antelope skulls".

21: Asai--6 [5] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 872, 882, 177.87 Japan
636.87

"After the Japanese came in, the children were sent to school for four years and learned Japanese. The Japanese put the Formosans on reservations and restricted the number of visitors and also restricted the movements of the Formosans. At present young men's clubs are strongest among the Tsou."